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Such are the legends. The idea of heaven as an upper world similar to the earth and with inhabitants like those of the world below is encountered in the legends of the culture-hero brothers relating to the theft of fire (see p. 130) and the origin of languages. These tell how in the old days there was free passage between the two worlds, how this was interrupted, and how thereafter an attempt was made to reëstablish it. All these motives are so common in American mythology that they do not merit further comment.

ta-ë' and the souls.—Quite different, however, is the concept of the most important personage of the upper world, ta-ë'. I do not know of any similar figure in the religion of other tribes. Nothing is known of her origin. She is apparently as ancient as the heaven in which she lives, and is immortal but definitely not omnipotent, nor omniscient, nor infallible. Overburdened with tasks, she may involuntarily cause damage to men through her mistakes. Nothing material in the world was created by her, nor does she govern anything; therefore she is neither the "Common Mother" nor the "Primary Mother" in Baldus' terminology.

Prayers are not directed to her, nor does she receive sacrifices. She has nothing to do directly with the culture-hero brothers, who equal her in importance, or with the spirits of the trees or the demons (ńɔɔ') of the lower world. No shaman is in communication with her. Nevertheless, for the Tukuna she is a figure of great importance and respect, because of her inseparable connection with the notion of sin and subsequent punishment, in life or after death, since she is the mistress of that part of the human soul called "naa'ë." With the other part of the soul, called "načii'" (shade of the deceased), she has nothing to do.

ta-ë' does not represent a divine justice that tots up the sins and good deeds of the soul. She takes into consideration only three categories of crime: incest, infanticide (including voluntary abortion), and murder through witchcraft. She does not bother with such trifles as theft or a hot-blooded killing. Incest (vɔ:'mači) is a transgression of the law of exogamy which she established when she taught the first men to which clan each belonged, making them taste the jacuruxy broth (see pp. 58 and 130); this was the only time, however, that she intervened in the work of the culture heroes. Incest is the only crime for which ta-ë' eventually punishes the sinner, by madness while he is still living.

I have already discussed the fate of an infanticide's soul (p. 69). When the soul of a sorcerer appears before ta-ë', she treats it in the same fashion as she does that of an infanticide; in fact, the three sins mentioned above are considered almost equal. The gravity of a crime depends upon whether the sin was committed thoughtlessly and with some extenuating circumstances, and whether it is repeated.

If there are extenuating circumstances, the sinner is purified by one of the čorë'ruma, which licks him from toe to crown. However, even if the naa'ë of a perverse and stubborn sinner slips past the tɔ/ri'ta gate, it is torn to shreds by the čorë'ruma or rejected by ta-ë', who orders lightning to cast it down on the earth again, or even sends it below to the underworld (na:'pį), where it is transformed into a tiny frog (nʊ:'gʊ), with whose death it vanishes.

It is noteworthy that the Tukuna regard as [illegible] these three sins which not only harm the individual but are also ruinous for humanity as a whole: "Thou

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673 art ruining the people!" says ta-ë' to the soul of an obstinate sinner. Furthermore, when I once spoke of the social consequences which incest brings to an incestuous son, a Tukuna cut short my words with: "It's not only that; he disgraces the people."

776 177 *The Christian* ta-ë'.—Up to this point the concept of ta-ë' and her activities, as well as the concepts of soul, sin, and punishment, do not appear to me to have been influenced by Christianity. It is easily understood however, that within this cycle of religious ideas concerning the souls of the dead and an upper world, there have been introduced Christian elements in the form of entire legends. This is due, not to contact with a Christian population, but to incomplete instruction received long ago through missionaries." There is another ta-ë', a caricature of the Virgin Mary appearing in conjunction with "Our Father," ta-na'tị, who unites within himself elements of God the Father and especially of Jesus Christ. There are also the dyure'u [*judeu*, Jew], a combination of the Jews, the story of the Passion of Christ, and the devil. It is amazing how many episodes of the evangelists have contributed to this grotesque conglomeration represented in the following legend of ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u:

ta-ë', ta-na'tị, and the dyure'u

539 776 177 ta-na'tị coveted ta-ë' while she was yet a girl, but she rejected him. Then he transformed himself into a flower by the wayside. ta-ë' plucked the flower, smelled it, and merely because of this became pregnant. She was quite astonished, because she had had sexual relations with no one; at last, however, she realized that ta-na'tị had impregnated her. When after five [*sic*] months she gave birth to a boy, ta-na'tị addressed her from afar: "Do you see? You did not wish me but you shall always have my son!"[a]

ta-na'tị was the wisest of all men. With his magic arts he used to kill the dyure'u (demons with tails like barrigudo monkeys), a more ancient race than men. They resolved to kill ta-na'tị. They tied him to a stake, put out his eyes, and left him exposed to the sun. "We want to see if he is really tupa'na!" [Lg., for "god," or "saint"] they said. tana'tị recovered from this. They crucified him with nails and pierced him with arrows, but he again recovered. Then they strangled him with a rope passed round both his neck and the stake to which he was bound, and this time he died.

They laid the body of ta-na'tị in a coffin, and afterward killed his chickens and sheep. But while they were seated at the table, the roast chicken suddenly sprang up and cried: "ta-na'tị nũi'u'!" ["ta-na'tị is alive!"], whereupon the pieces of the butchered sheep joined one another and bleated: "bẽ:! It's a lie!" When the dyure'u went to look, the coffin with ta-na'tị's body was already at a hand's height from the ground and was rising rapidly.

The dyure'u tried to pull it down by a rope passed round it, but the coffin rose without stopping, carrying the dyure'u hanging from the rope. Because of this they are also in heaven. Since then, nothing has been heard of ta-na'tị; today he still lives in heaven, but far away from all the others. The road to ta-ë''s house is partly overgrown by the jungle; the other path, however, which leads to the habitation of the dyure'u is a broad, fine road of sand. The dyure'u duck the arriving souls into a pot of boiling pitch, so that only their fingertips peep out. Afterward they remove them and weigh them, repeating this until the soul has become light enough to appear before ta-ë'. She, however, still scolds the soul before admitting it.

773 776 177 The Tukuna commonly give the title of ta-na'tị ("Our Father") to the twin culture heroes, a title justified by the fact that these are the creators of humanity, or at least the greater part of it, especially of the Tukuna. According to Tessmann. tana'te means "god": "Er hat die Welt gemacht, die Tiere und Berge, Sonne,

[a] Spaniards? See use of the *garrote* in the following legend.
[a] I could learn nothing more of this son.

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apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.